

AN AMENDMENT

TO THE

CONSTITUTION OF THE STATE OF OREGON

To be submitted to the Legal Electors of the State of Oregon
for their approval or rejection

AT THE

REGULAR GENERAL ELECTION

To be held on the fourth day of June, 1906,

TO AMEND

SECTION 2 OF ARTICLE II

*By Initiative Petition filed in the office of the Secretary of State December 13, 1905,
in accordance with the provisions of an Act "making effective the Initiative and Ref-
erendum Provisions of Section 1 of Article IV of the Constitution of the State of
Oregon," approved February 24, 1903.*

Printed in pursuance of Section 8 of the foregoing act.

—SECRETARY OF STATE.

THE FOLLOWING IS THE NUMBER AND FORM IN WHICH THE QUESTION WILL
BE PRINTED ON THE OFFICIAL BALLOT:

PROPOSED BY INITIATIVE PETITION

FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT Vote Yes or No

302 Yes.

303 No.

STATE OF NEW YORK

IN SENATE

January 12, 1910

REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SENATE

APRIL 1, 1899

ALBANY:

THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

1910

PRINTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

ALBANY, N. Y., 1910

EQUAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

Section 2 of article II of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be and hereby is amended to read as follows :

Section 2. In all elections not otherwise provided for by this Constitution, every citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in the State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and every person of foreign birth of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in this State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and shall have declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States one year preceding such election, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization, shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law ; it is expressly provided hereby that no one shall be denied the right to vote on account of sex. Additional qualifications of registration and precinct residence may be required by law.

ARGUMENT

in favor of

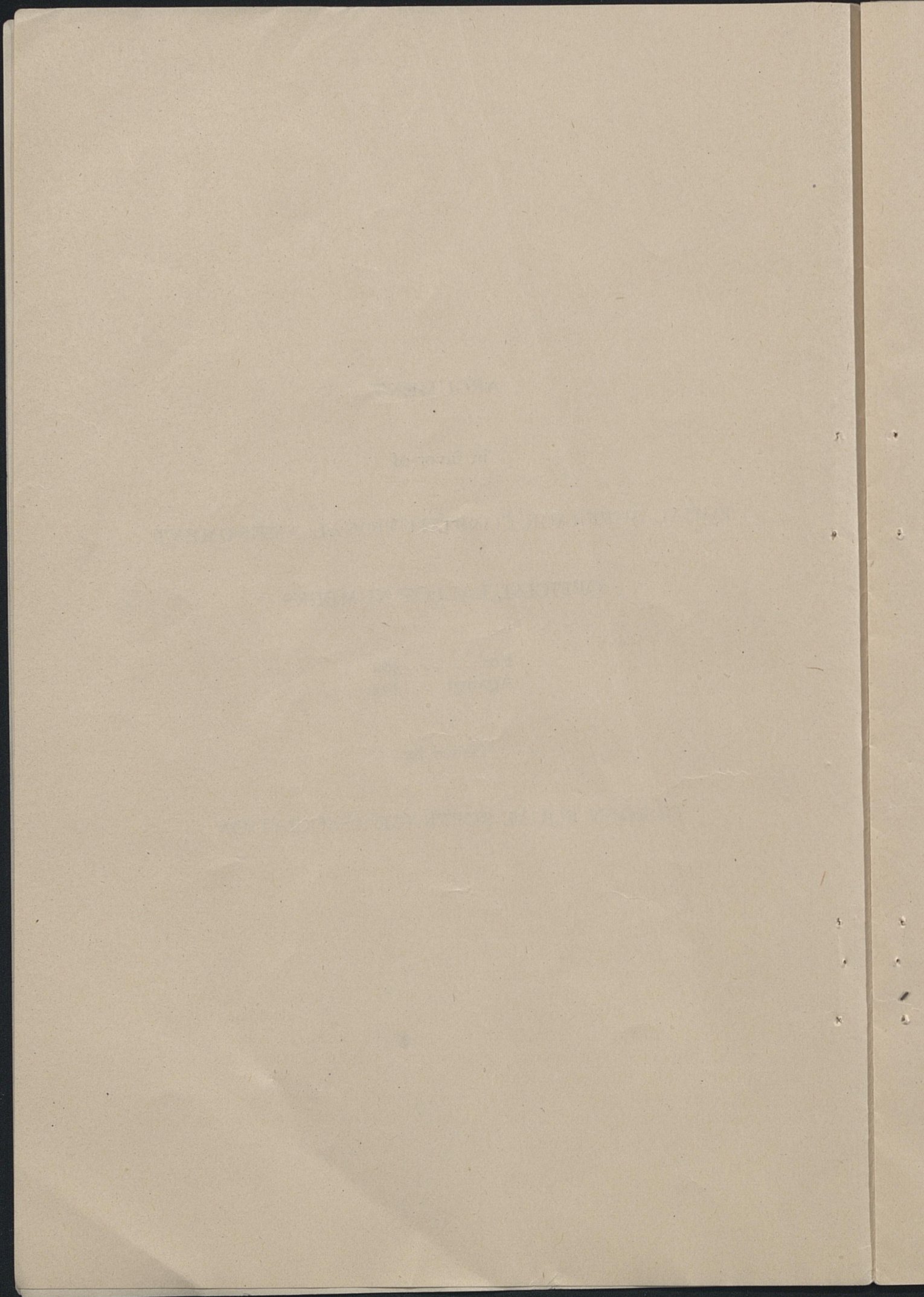
EQUAL SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

OFFICIAL BALLOT NUMBERS

For 302
Against .. 303

Issued by

OREGON EQUAL SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION.



WHAT EQUAL SUFFRAGE MEANS.

A government of men and women by men and women, instead of a government of men and women by men alone—that is what equal suffrage means. - Could anything be more fair, more reasonable, more just? "Equal rights to all and special privileges to none" is the principle which must be at the foundation of a just system of government. Whether suffrage be a right or a privilege, therefore, it belongs to women equally with men, in a true republic.

In the establishment of the first permanent colonies on the hostile shore of an alien land, which marked the beginning of this nation; in the conquering, two centuries later, of the great West and in its transformation from an unbroken wilderness into great and powerful states, women have shared equally with men in the labor, equally endured the hardships, equally faced the dangers. The principles of justice and fair play demand that they share equally with men in controlling the destinies of the nation which they have helped to create. Long ago Abraham Lincoln said, "I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who assist in bearing its burdens, by no means excluding women."

THE HOME AND THE GOVERNMENT.

The questions which are settled at the ballot box are questions which concern every home, and they are not merely questions of banking and currency and tariff. Pure food, pure water, pure milk, clean streets, proper protection against disease, proper protection of the rights of children, good schools, good influences and surroundings in which to bring up children—all these are questions of government, all these specially concern women, and all these are settled through the ballot box. While banking and currency and tariff and other commercial questions specially touch man's side of life and need his brain and his interest and his vote for their solution, these other questions specially touch woman's side of life and need her brain and her interest and her vote for their best solution. The state is but the home on a larger scale. It is a one-sided, imperfect home which has no woman in it, and it of necessity must be a one-sided, imperfect state which shuts women out from participation in its affairs. The interests which men specially care for in the individual home are well cared for in the state; the interests which women specially care for in the individual home are neglected in the state.

We lead the world in manufacturing, but 15 per cent. of the food we eat is adulterated; we have a great navy and are ready to appropriate untold millions for a canal to aid commerce, but the census of 1900 showed that 10.7 per cent. of our population could not read or write, and in our great cities thousands of children are every year turned away from the schools because there are neither seats nor teachers for them. If all the interests of life are to be well cared for, women must stand side by side with men in the larger home of the state as now they stand side by side with men in the smaller home of the household.

THE WAGE-EARNER'S NEED OF THE BALLOT.

The revolution in industry which has been brought about by the use of machinery has compelled large numbers of women to go out from their homes to work in factories—not to take men's work but to do work which from the beginning has been done by women, work formerly done by hand at home, but which now must be done in the factory by the aid of machinery. Formerly, all spinning, weaving, knitting, making of soap and cheese, and innumerable other things were done at home by women. Now they are done in factories, and women, forced to earn a living, have followed their work from home to factory, to find much of their work taken by men, yet much still left for themselves, so that, according to the 1900 census, there were 5,319,912 women wage-earners in the United States, over 4,000,000 of them engaged in occupations other than domestic service. These women work side by side with men, at the same kind of work, in the same factories, for the same employers. The men with whom they work are not their fathers or brothers, ready to protect them, but are their rivals and competitors, each seeking advantage for himself. If women are to be protected, they must protect themselves. Because they do not possess the power of the ballot which men possess, they are forced to accept conditions which men cannot be forced to accept, and everywhere they are paid but one-third or one-half or some other fraction of the wages paid to men for similar work. Being competitors of men, they help to drag down wages and conditions for men too. Never until the fundamental law of our states and of our nation ceases to place women politically with the idiot and the criminal, the other disfranchised citizens, never until women are lifted up to the political level of sane, law-abiding men, will they be recognized as equals in industrial life. Never until women have, through the ballot, the power to affect economic conditions, will they be properly protected, and never will men be free from the evils which inevitably grow out of the competition of political inferiors, a fact recognized by the American Federation of Labor, which has over and over again declared for equal suffrage as a "measure of justice to women" and "as a necessary step toward insuring and raising the scale of wages for all."

RESULTS OF EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

Equal suffrage is no longer merely a theory. It is a fact. Women vote on municipal questions in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, Norway and Sweden; they have equal political rights with men in New Zealand, the Isle of Man and throughout the Federation of Australia, a nation equal to the United States in territory. Women have some form of suffrage in 22 states of the United States and have every political right possessed by men in the four states of Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho. In these states, statistics show that women vote as generally as do men, and the overwhelming testimony is that equal suffrage has been a benefit to the state. Those who claim otherwise, almost without exception, refuse to give their names or else are not residents of any of these states, and hence not familiar with the conditions. The National Woman Suffrage Association has had a challenge out for years, asking for any two respectable citizens of Wyoming or any ten respectable citizens of Colorado who will say over their own signatures, thus making themselves publicly responsible for their statements, that equal suffrage has been a detriment; and that challenge has never been answered.

There has been no radical revolution in these states. Women have not banded together against men to oppose measures desired by men, but there has been a quickening of interest and a marked improvement along those lines which are especially the lines of life in which women are most interested and which they are most fitted to direct; and women themselves have become broader, finer women from their participation in a broader life. A cleaner personal life is demanded of candidates for office and the party ignoring this demand courts defeat. Primaries are held in respectable places, and the polls are clean and attractive. Public libraries have multiplied and educational interests of every kind have been greatly furthered. The school system of Wyoming has no superior, and Colorado leads every state in the amount of money per capita appropriated for its schools, in the high requirements of its compulsory educational law, and in the strict enforcement of that law. Above all, the children, the future citizens on whom the welfare of the nation will depend, are made the objects of special care and consideration. The Colorado Juvenile Court Law, enacted through women's votes, serves as a model for all the world. The wages of women have taken a trend upward, and the child labor law is enforced as it is not enforced in any state where the mothers have no voice in the making and enforcement of laws.

Moral, social and educational interests have been advanced, and material interests have not been neglected. Equal suffrage is a live issue throughout the civilized world, and people in Europe who have never heard the names of many of our states know about Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, because women vote there. People in

eastern states have their attention called to these states in the same way, and they become familiar with their resources and with the opportunities which they afford. Parents look for good schools for their children and they find them in these states. Thus population and capital are attracted into the states. The United States census for 1900 shows that, for the preceding decade, there was, in all of these states, a remarkable increase in population, in the amount of capital invested in manufacturing and in the value of farm property. The great resources of these states are primarily responsible for their progress along material lines, but equal suffrage has had some hand in it by attracting attention to these resources. Political fraud has not been abolished, but women have almost entirely refrained from taking part in fraud. The President of the Honest Elections League of Denver said in April, 1904, in a published letter: "As a result of my own experience in the work of the League, I find that women have practically nothing to do with the fraudulent voting."

Wyoming, after 21 years' experience of equal suffrage, as a territory, adopted it as a fundamental part of its constitution when it applied for statehood in 1890, and when it looked as though either statehood or equal suffrage must be sacrificed, a mass convention of men of the state sent this message to Congress: "We value statehood, but we will stay out of the Union a hundred years rather than come in without our women." Before such testimony as this, from an entire community, the criticisms of non-residents or the alleged criticisms of citizens afraid to give their names weigh as nothing.

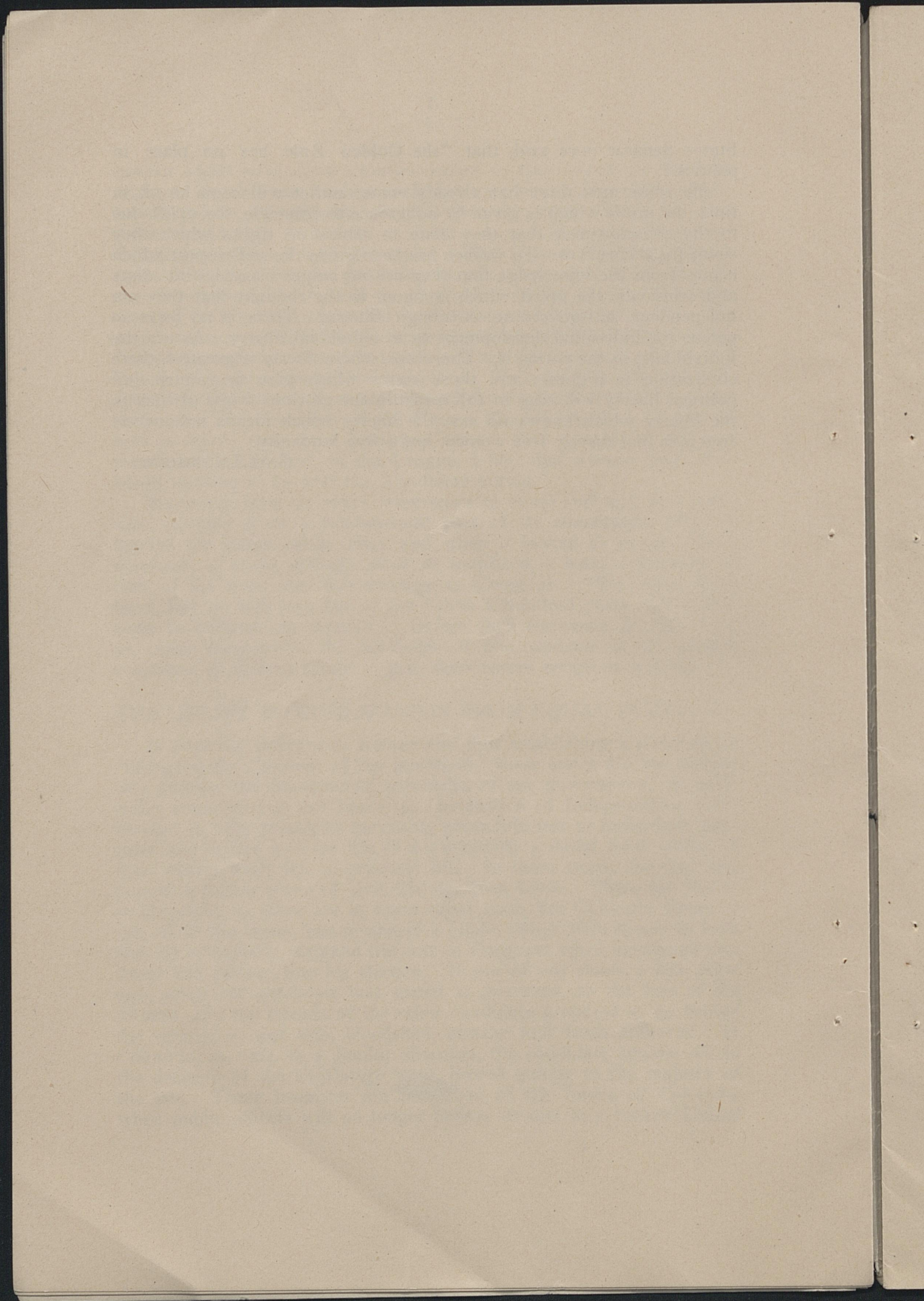
THE UPLIFT TO CIVILIZATION FROM EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

In granting suffrage to women and thus establishing a government resting on the "consent of the governed," these states are but putting into practice the fundamental principles of our government, the principles enunciated in our immortal Declaration of Independence. Adherence to lofty principles inevitably gives loftiness to individual character and injects into the life of a community a moral force which, in time, makes itself felt in practical life. In these states, the first step toward a higher plane of civic life has been taken. There are frauds in Colorado, as there are in every other state, but Colorado alone, so far, of all the states, has produced a public officer with honor so keen that he voluntarily resigned his seat in Congress when convinced that fraud had entered into his election. In one of our states, a few years ago, when one candidate was seated as governor, on the face of the returns, and the friends of the other candidate prepared to go behind the returns to seat him, bloodshed, murder and feuds followed. In Colorado, in 1904, in a similar situation, the candidate against whom the decision of the legislature went, bowed quietly to the majesty of the law. These instances are indicative of the future of Colorado, when public officers will no longer believe or say, as a former United

States Senator once said, that "the Golden Rule has no place in politics."

To some men there has already come, and it will come to all in time, the uplift which is given by adherence to principle, the uplift due to the consciousness that they deny to others no rights which they claim for themselves. To women has been given the self-respect which comes from the knowledge that they are no longer classed with idiots and criminals, the uplift which is found in the thought that they are independent, self-governing, sovereign citizens. There is no force so potent for individual development as is individual liberty. As are the individuals, so the nation is. Therefore, where liberty is greatest, there civilization is highest; and those states which give to women full political liberty will reap in full measure the glorious fruits of liberty, the liberty which knows no sex, the liberty which means not merely free men, not merely free women, but a free humanity.

GAIL LAUGHLIN.



An Appeal to Voters

AND

Arguments Against Equal Suffrage
Constitutional Amendment

ISSUED BY

Oregon State Association Opposed to the
Extension of Suffrage to Women

PROPOSED BY INITIATIVE PETITION

FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT Vote Yes or No

302 Yes

303 **No**

An Appeal to Voters

and

Arguments Against Equal Suffrage
Constitutional Amendment

Edited by

Oregon State Association Opposed to the
Extension of Suffrage to Women

PROPOSED BY INITIATIVE PETITION

FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT

NO. 10
1901

WHY SHOULD WE?

Shall I vote to give the ballot to every woman in Oregon?

This is the question brought to every Oregon voter in this referendum for unrestricted woman's suffrage, and every man's vote counts since a bare majority is all that is required. In the last election in which woman's suffrage was before the voters of Oregon, one-third of them did not vote upon the question at all, showing their indifference to the matter. Twenty-eight thousand four hundred and two voters decided the day against it; 26,265 voted for it, but 27,283 did not trouble themselves to vote either way. Obviously, the question of whether Oregon shall or shall not have unrestricted woman's suffrage lies with these silent voters. They must stand up and be counted for and against, and this referendum is the time to do it.

We Oregon women who send you this pamphlet therefore earnestly ask the most careful consideration and thought that you, as a voter of Oregon, are willing to give to the matter of woman's suffrage.

To push this measure of unrestricted woman's suffrage a well-organized and clamorous national organization of women which has failed most signally, by the way, in those Eastern states where it has the largest membership, is concentrating its entire efforts in Oregon this year; it boasts of \$10,000 in its treasury to spend on the Oregon campaign. It has brought speakers from other States to hold meetings in every town of every county. It has a press bureau of its own; its national president, Reverend Anna Shaw, is to be in Oregon from February until June directing this campaign, and the only printed argument they offer for your consideration is written, not by a woman of your own community, not by a resident of Oregon, but by a woman lawyer imported by the aid of the National Suffrage Association.

To meet this great effort the home women of Oregon who send you this pamphlet have but one small and untrained organization; no speakers; no campaign fund; and no way of reaching you except by this appeal; and yet in most of the States from which these women speakers come to urge woman's suffrage upon you, the influence of home women has defeated their efforts over and over again. We would call your attention to these suggestive facts:

In Massachusetts, where the movement for woman's suffrage began a half century ago and where the women outnumber the men, the suffragists are defeated worse and worse every year.

In Iowa, another State of homes, after three active suffrage campaigns, the suffragists are increasingly unable to win their point.

In New York, which, next to Massachusetts, has been the seat of woman suffrage activity for over forty years, the suffragists have

ceased because of hopeless failure to introduce measures for unrestricted woman suffrage.

In New Hampshire, where an extremely energetic campaign was made by the national suffragists three years ago, the woman suffrage amendment was the worst defeated of any of ten constitutional amendments submitted to the people.

In all of these States the defeat is due to the opposition of the great majority of women to woman suffrage.

Why should Oregon, the oldest and most conservative of the Pacific States, range itself with the four woman suffrage States of Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado and the Mormon Utah (against whose representative, sent by woman suffrage to the United States Senate, two million of the home women of America are now protesting), rather than with the old Commonwealths of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Michigan, Wisconsin, the Dakotas, Nebraska, Nevada, Kansas, Montana, Washington, and California? In twelve of these States the suffragists suffered their usual defeat last year on measures of limited or of unrestricted suffrage. If, this year, the National Suffrage Association wins through your vote in this campaign or through your carelessness in not casting a vote at all, and if in consequence Oregon is set as the fifth star upon the suffragists' flag it will indeed be the first great and solid triumph which the suffragists have won through the electorate. No wonder that they so desire it, but why should the Oregon voter give it to them?

The woman suffragists' orator, pleadingly appealing to your "chivalry," asks you "Why not vote for woman suffrage?" Your reply may appropriately be a Yankee one with another question: "Why should we?"

In only one State (Massachusetts) have women ever been given a chance to say for themselves by the ballot whether they wanted the ballot. This was in a referendum to which women were admitted in Massachusetts in 1895. It had been clamored for most vigorously by the suffragists, but it went so severely against them that they have never since asked any referendum in which their own sex should vote. Out of 575,000 Massachusetts women who could have voted if the suffrage was desired by them, only 22,204 went to the polls and voted for it. There were 57 towns in which not a single woman voted for this suffrage proposition, and yet the suffragists had been appealing for woman suffrage in the name of the disenfranchised women of Massachusetts for forty years. Man is disposed to give woman what she wants here in America, but he does not always know what she wants as well as she does.

If you will vote on this question according to the wishes of the majority of women whom you know and respect, we have no fear but that your vote will be a representative one, and a representative vote is what we want to get on record. We do not ask you to try to change the opinions of Oregon women, but to represent what they think. If the result is for woman suffrage, then the Oregon woman is different from any other conservative woman in the forty states which do not have woman suffrage.

It is not the unprogressive women who have banded to oppose suffrage for their sex. They form a representative body of workers in education and philanthropy, although they may be called conservative, as opposed to radical. The first anti-suffrage appeal to Congress was presented by Emma Willard, Almira Lincoln Phelps, Mrs. Dahlgren, Catherine Beecher, Catherine Sedgwick, and Mary Lyon. Strong petitions against woman suffrage were taken by Dorothea Dix, Gail Hamilton, Lydia Sigourney and Josepha Hale. We are content to follow where they led and to hold with Dr. Henry van Dyke that "woman's sphere is an atmosphere,"—the atmosphere of home, of wide and intelligent sympathy, of tender charity and ministry to others, of influence beyond all computation. We believe that woman suffrage is of doubtful benefit to woman or to the State, and we hope that your vote will show that you and your family agree with us.

OREGON STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO THE
EXTENSION OF THE SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN.

MRS. R. W. WILBUR, President.
MRS. WILLIAM S. LADD, Vice-President.
MRS. J. B. MONTGOMERY, Vice-President.
MRS. WALLACE McCAMANT, Treasurer.
MISS ELEANOR E. GILE, Secretary.

MRS. HENRY W. CORBETT,
MRS. HELEN LADD CORBETT,
MRS. F. M. WARREN,
MRS. A. E. ROCKEY,
MRS. C. H. LEWIS,
MRS. DAVID LORING,
MISS FAILING,

Executive Committee.

WOMAN'S PROTEST AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

We acknowledge no inferiority to men. We claim to have no less ability to perform the duties which God has imposed upon us than they have to perform those imposed upon them.

We believe that God has wisely and well adapted each sex to the proper performance of the duties of each.

We believe our trusts to be as important and sacred as any that exist on earth.

We believe woman suffrage would relatively lessen the influence of the intelligent and true, and increase the influence of the ignorant and vicious.

We feel that our present duties fill up the whole measure of our time and ability, and are such as none but ourselves can perform. Our appreciation of their importance requires us to protest against all efforts to infringe upon our rights by imposing upon us those obligations which cannot be separated from suffrage, but which, as we think, cannot be performed by us without the sacrifice of the highest interests of our families and of society.

It is our fathers, brothers, husbands and sons who represent us at the ballot-box. Our fathers and our brothers love us; our husbands are our choice and one with us; our sons are what we make them. We are content that they represent us in the corn-field, on the battle-field, and at the ballot-box, and we them in the school-room, at the fireside, and at the cradle, believing our representation even at the ballot-box to be thus more full and impartial than it would be were the views of the few who wish suffrage adopted, contrary to the judgment of the many.

We do therefore respectfully protest against any legislation to establish "woman suffrage" in our state.—*Issued by the Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.*

STATEMENT IN REGARD TO THE SUFFRAGE.

By the Hon. Abram S. Hewitt.

1.—From time immemorial the responsibility for civil government has been confided to and been exercised by man. The reason is founded in nature. The ultimate reliance of government is upon force. Man is by nature combative, woman is non-combative. The responsibility for the maintenance of civil government rests, therefore, upon man because some one must be prepared to fight for it whenever the necessity arises.

2.—The function of maternity is the peculiar attribute of woman. Her natural sphere is in the family, and love and not force is the source of her power.

3.—In consequence of these functional differences between woman and man, she enjoys certain privileges and immunities which are denied to men. Among these may be enumerated the following: First, the duty of holding public office. Second, the obligation of jury service and the discharge of judicial and police functions. Third, military service. None of these duties could be performed by women without violating the proprieties and safeguards of female purity and delicacy.

4.—The suffrage is a duty which can be exercised by women as well as by men, and it will doubtless be cheerfully conceded to woman wherever it can be shown that it will be for her benefit or will promote the welfare of society; but the burden of proof rests upon those who advocate this extension of the suffrage. The suffrage is not a question of right or of justice, but of policy and expediency. Heretofore it has been conceded only to those who can perform the duties which are inherent in the nature of civil government: shall it be extended to those who cannot perform these duties?

5.—It is alleged that women are subject to certain legal disabilities, and deprived of certain privileges, the injustice of which, the possession of the suffrage would rectify. The Legislature of the State of New York has already redressed all grievances brought to public attention, and if any remain to be redressed, the suffrage is not necessary to secure beneficial action. Man, in this age, is not willing to bear the odium of injustice to woman.

6.—It is claimed that the vice of intemperance and the traffic in strong drink, admitted to be the crowning disgrace of our day and generation, would be cured if women could vote. If this expectation were well founded it would go far to overcome the obvious objections to the exercise of female suffrage, but nothing is more certain than that the suffrage, whether exercised by man or woman, or both, is powerless to restrain the animal appetites. There is abundant experience of prohibition enacted by man alone, and of its failure to produce the reformation so much desired by all good men and women. This reformation must be the result of elevating the moral tone of individuals, and herein lies the greatest power of woman, which will be impaired, if not destroyed, by contact with men in political movements, assemblies and elections. Experience would seem to show, therefore, that there would be a loss, and not a gain in the encouraging progress now discernible in favor of temperance throughout the world if women were deprived of that influence which is now so potent in the family and upon those who are dear to them.

7.—It is asserted that the denial of suffrage to women is a violation of the principles of "no taxation without representation." This assertion rests upon an entire misconception of the origin and nature of that political canon. It originated in opposition to the attempt of Great Britain to tax her North American colonies without their con-

sent. It had no connection whatever with the basis of representation, or the limitations upon suffrage and these questions were never the subject of discussion. Universal male suffrage did not exist anywhere at that time, but if it had been of any consequence, the abolition of the property qualification in the State of New York and elsewhere has entirely severed the connection of taxation with representation. If such a relation should be re-established, justice would require that representation should be proportioned to taxation, a proposition which will hardly be recognized in our political system.

8.—It is assumed that the possession of the right of suffrage would be an elevating and refining influence for women. Has it been so with men? Certainly at no period in the history of the country have there been so many complaints as to the indifference of the educated classes and of the venality of ignorant citizens as at this time. Judging by the effect, therefore, of universal suffrage upon man, and considering the more emotional nature of woman, it is a fair inference that the conferring of the suffrage upon them would be a degrading rather than an elevating and refining influence.

9.—So far as the family is concerned, a new element of discord and of injustice will be introduced. Among the enlightened, doubtless, political issues would be fairly discussed and differences of opinion would be tolerated, but in the great majority of cases women will either blindly follow dictation or submit to coercion, by which the influence of the baser elements of society will be enlarged and that of the conservative elements be impaired.

10.—Taking a dispassionate survey, therefore, of the whole situation, it would appear that women have no grievances that cannot be redressed through existing agencies; and that the possession of the suffrage would not tend to enhance either the interests of woman or of society; but that, on the contrary, it would tend to degrade, by imposing a privilege which she could not exercise without confessing her inability to perform the corresponding duties which adhere to the responsibility of civil government; that the courtesies and amenities of life which are now felt to be due from man to woman would soon cease to exist, resulting in the practical unsexing of men and women by destroying the sanctity and privacy of the family circle and home life, upon which depend the virtue and the welfare of humanity.

11.—Finally, the proposed innovation involves too much risk to the present and permanent welfare of woman, and offers too little prospect of advantage, to warrant the voluntary assumption of new and untried political responsibilities, the outcome of which may, and probably will be, deplorable. It is fortunate that woman is now independent of the suffrage. Let her not become subject to its servitudes.—*Issued by the Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.*

PROTEST AGAINST WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Address delivered by

THE REV. FATHER WALSH, OF TROY, N. Y.

No one here can forget his indebtedness to woman. To her as mother, sister, wife or friend, we owe the tenderest emotions of life—the noblest elements of character—the purest aspirations and the sweetest sympathy in joy and sorrow. Into her arms we are born. Watching her lips we begin to speak; led by her hand we learn to walk in obedience to law. In painting, sculpture and poetry, she gives us ideals of innocence and beauty. Innocence is a woman; chastity is a woman; charity is a woman. I and you do not wish to lose this ideal woman.

If I can be convinced that this enfranchisement of woman is needed to idealize woman still more, or make her more womanly, or secure her in greater purity and innocence, or deepen her sympathetic and religious nature, or strengthen her maternal and domestic instincts, then I will gladly lift my voice, and exert my influence, in behalf of granting this boon to woman.

I have yet to learn that a single advocate of female suffrage has contended for the measure for the reason that its concession will improve and strengthen and safeguard the female character. Much declamation is indulged in on the plea that it is a hurtful discrimination between "male" and "female" in the Constitution—or that women will never enjoy the full measure of liberty till they can vote, or that women owning property are unjustly taxed by others; and they have a fondness for the axiom, "No taxation without representation."

Can there be serious disagreement as to the result of her enfranchisement? Rum and politics are the ruin of vast numbers of our citizens. Incurable and deepening corruption is the condition of politics today. Polling places are pestilential spots, seething with perjury, bribery, unclean language and rowdyism. I have never yet cast a ballot that I did not blush for shame because of this temporary association. I have no hope that these evils will ever be cured till some limitation is placed on the farce of universal suffrage. Parties ambitious of political ascendancy or continuance in power will perpetuate them.

These female suffrage fanatics say: "Let the women vote and healing will come to the festering and hideous sores of politics. Let the woman bring all her refinement and delicacy, and intelligence and sympathy down into this noisome vortex, and she will bring peace, orderliness and purity out of confusion, chaos and uncleanness."

Ah! They know little of human nature who talk in this fashion. The best element among our male voters has tried to improve the shame. Have they succeeded? They were so apathetic, owing to repeated failures, that Governor Hill twice in his messages tried to induce the Legislature to enact laws making the suffrage a duty, and not merely a right. And where strong, influential men have failed, will women

succeed? Who here would wish to see his mother, wife or sister, enter our polling places? And you really believe that the most of the female voters would be proof against bribery, and intoxicants, and, in time, more degrading and iniquitous crimes? They read the history of woman with false lights, who cannot recognize, in her affiliation with public affairs, the marked cause of her deterioration in personal character. There are some few exceptions; but from Deborah to Cleopatra, and Elizabeth of England, and Catherine of Russia, and to the princess claiming the right to the throne of Hawaii, there is an insolent cruelty, and a moral debasement, that shames the worst male profligacy.

Within her own sphere, woman's influence is beneficial and uplifting. When ambition or accident has carried her beyond her sphere, the transfer has wrought evil to man, and wreck to woman. This, then, is my first reason of opposition to female suffrage—in the present debased and corrupt condition of politics, I fear that female participation in the franchise must entail consequences fatal to the legitimate work and destiny of women.

My second reason is close to this. Has not partisanship in politics been carried already to a ruinous extreme in this country? Is not our boasted national unity a farce and a fiction? Have not recent Congressional debates, and measures, affirmed that we are hopelessly divided into opposing industrial camps, and recent political contests proved the fierce enmity of our battling political hosts? I believe that our prosperity, and vitality, depend on the coalition and pacification of these hostile forces. I believe that we should be a party to no legislation which would tend further to separate us, and increase the din of battle.

I believe that other more vital interests which cluster about the home, the church, and the school, demand that our large female population be kept aloof from these rivalries and contentions, as a refuge and restraint in the day of our direst distress, and with the fervent hope that their unbiased influence may beget a generation of citizens who may be willing to put the nation before the individual, and men and principles ahead of party.

If we clothe our women with the franchise, we increase a thousand-fold all the evils and injustice and blindness and selfishness of partisanship. Into the nation we throw a solvent that will be felt down in its lowest foundations. Already, and with only men to vote, the heat of a political fight will divide families, and strain and snap friendships of a life-time. Bring women into the strife, and what home will be secure against discord, and what friendship safe from wreckage?

The more sacred duties of home, religion, and education, will be sacrificed to the more engrossing excitements of politics; and we will have a grotesque, ill-formed nation, where women are never mothers, and where men will know more of the tariff and the election law than of God and the ten commandments. That morbid condition is universal enough now among men. Do you want it also to brand women?

My third reason, which is also my last, though these are only three of a series which might run into many were I the only speaker, is based upon other material. The remark has been made editorially by one of your journals, that this question of female suffrage is not to be determined by female superiority or inferiority as compared with males. The issue at best is ungentlemanly and ungracious, and yet I cannot avoid it. I would regret to find the question settled without a reference to this issue of comparative ability. Legitimately, it never should be raised; and it would not now if women were not insisting on trespassing on exclusive male territory. Fortunate would we be if we could imitate the gallantry of Horace Greeley, who, when asked "who was the cleverer, man or woman?" replied, "It depends very much on what man or woman you mean."

If the franchise is conferred on woman, it should co-ordinately confer on her the right to hold any office for which she may vote. If you separate the two, female agitators will never sleep till they worry you into granting this substantial sequence of the franchise. If you now permit her to vote, sooner or later this is the very serious condition you must face. In such an event, her sex should be no bar to her being a governor, a chief justice, United States senator or any official within the jurisdiction of the people, or other appointing power of this state. If being eligible to these offices, the mother's and wife's ambition covets them against the protest of husband and children—what then? If to prevent her election, husband and children must vote against her—what then? If during the tenure of office, the duties or functions of motherhood demand her retirement—what then? If, in the distribution of official patronage, she ignore husband and sons—what then?

Women agitators call the franchise, by a gross misnomer, a natural right. The refutation of the absurdity lies in the obtrusive antagonism between this alleged *natural* right and other *real natural duties*. Frances Power Cobbe, a vigorous female agitator, confesses there is a period in a woman's life when the duties she owes her sex force her to a complete abandonment of the duties she owes the commonwealth. Is not this a singular anomaly? Because female suffragists will not heed the voice of nature they are unsexing themselves.

It is this possibility of female office-holders that forces on us the feature of female capacity.

Dr. Wm. A. Hammond, the distinguished nerve and brain specialist, after writing harshly of the original female suffrage agitators as short-haired women and long-haired men, says that a woman's brain evolves emotion rather than intellect; and whilst this feature fits her admirably as a creature burdened with the preservation and happiness of the human species, it painfully disqualifies her for the sterner duties to be performed by the intellectual faculties. The best wife and mother and sister would make the worst legislator, judge and police.

The excessive development of the emotional in her nervous system, ingrafts on the female organization, a neurotic or hysterical condition,

which is the source of much of the female charms when it is kept within due restraints. In emergencies, or difficult situations, or moments of excitement, or under continued strain, it is liable to explode in violent paroxysms, when all the mental and physical faculties are perverted, and thrown into a condition of startling turbulence. Every woman, therefore, carries this power of irregular, illogical and incongruous action; and no one can foretell when the explosion will come.

A woman lives more in her emotions, and will judge more as she feels than as she thinks. She is bereft of the "judicial mind." She has no idea of abstract justice. Her likes and dislikes are paramount with her. She will sacrifice life, duty, family, and character, if necessary, to the man she loves; and punish severely those, who, innocent of crime, may have only aroused her prejudices. A man will judge of things as they are without reference to himself. Only the exceptional woman can do this. Men are strong in those virtues that grow out of the nature of things—women in those that are found in mere sentiment or right feeling.

These difficulties make their union necessary. They were never intended for rivals. They are complementary to each other, like the voices in a choral harmony; and their wants and differences are the bond of their union. If nature makes them differ, so must the spheres of their action vary.

If an abnormal female ambition, blind to these essential and God-given unlikenesses, craves for activity in an unhealthy, masculine field, let the strong, virile opinion of the State, rebuke the yearning as it would that of an unthinking, wayward child.—*Issued by the Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.*

WOMAN SUFFRAGE NOT WANTED IN OREGON.

Outlines of a talk given by Mrs. R. W. Wilbur at a parlor meeting of the Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women, on March 10, 1900, Printed May, 1900; reprinted January, 1906.

One of the objects of this meeting is to explain to those of you who are our guests why we have taken a position in opposition to the extension of the suffrage to all women in the State of Oregon.

Our opposition is based upon two grounds: first, that we fail to find sufficient force in the arguments for making this extension; second, that even granting those arguments, we believe such a change would be inexpedient and to the disadvantage of the state and of woman herself.

The chief claims of those who demand this extension are four: First, that the right to it is inalienable, inborn with every citizen of this coun-

try; second, that the withholding of it is an injustice to the taxpaying woman; third, that it is an injustice to the working woman, and fourth, that woman needs the suffrage to protect herself before the law.

Let us go over these claims briefly and see how much weight they are to have with us. First of all, what is an inalienable right? Have you or I any right which we can claim if it interferes with the welfare of any other human being? The right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness is claimed to be such, but life must be given up in time of war, if the state demands it; liberty must be yielded at the slightest suspicion of its being a menace to the community; property (an important element in the pursuit of happiness) must be sacrificed if the public claims it.

The right of suffrage is another so-called inalienable right, which the very solidity of the nation requires should be in the gift of the State. Nobody questions the right of the State to withhold it in many instances already. Massachusetts refuses it to illiterates, all States reserve the right to make what registration rules they please and citizens conform to them without a question. So we see that the right of suffrage has never been held to be inalienable, even in the male citizen. And if we can prove that its use would work an injury to the State in any given case, no one would be more unpatriotic than the citizen, male or female, who would then claim it.

Now, in regard to the tax-paying woman. The watchword of our opponents, "Taxation without representation," is utterly inappropriate to the question. At the time that word was uttered no one had ever heard of universal male suffrage even, and the most radical of the Revolutionists did not demand it. In a republic like ours taxation cannot fairly have anything to do with representation, and, as a matter of fact, it does not. A man worth a million has no more suffrage right than the man worth five dollars, or less. The wealthy and intelligent minor has no vote, nor do the trustees of his wealth vote for him. The man paying large taxes in Oregon, but living in Washington or California, has no vote in the matter of governing Oregon.

But even if taxation could be made a claim for suffrage (which we do not allow) the interest of the taxpaying woman is better represented now than if the right were extended to all women. The proportion of taxpaying women to the whole number of eligible voting women is considerably smaller than the proportion of taxpaying men to the whole number of voting men, so that the property-holding interest is now in a larger proportion to the whole vote than it would be if all women in Oregon were allowed to vote.

Then we must remember that a large number of taxpaying women hold property which is actually their husband's, and so represented by his vote—property which he places in her name. Why? For the simple reason that a woman's property is more privileged before the law than a man's—one of the very things for which our opponents claim the need of the suffrage. So that the actual number of unrepresented

taxpaying women is very small indeed, and we must never forget that this whole matter is a question of averages, not of exceptions.

The third claim is that the suffrage is needed by the working girl because it would raise her wages. Now, I ask you, in all consideration of this question, to maintain the attitude of suspicion. There is too much of making the ballot a panacea for all ills. You are told it will do this for one set of people, that for another. Question these statements, ask how, until you get it down to simplest terms and clear fact.

How is the ballot to raise wages for women? Has it ever done it for men? During hard times when thousands of voting men had nothing to do, would they not have created wages, to say nothing of raising them for themselves, if it had been in their power? Wages are a question of demand and supply.

Woman's labor is, of necessity, unskilled, from its lack of permanence. Statistics of the United States show that the majority of working women are under twenty-two years of age. After that large numbers of them marry. They expect this, quite rightly, and as a consequence they go into the trades that are quickly learned, and easily learned, and these are necessarily the ill-paid ones. These are the reasons for the lower wages earned by women, not the lack of suffrage.

Then, suppose the working woman could vote. By these same statistics she is in a proportion of one in ten of the whole number of women. Think what a small amount of influence for the benefit of her class she could exert if her whole number were banded together, and those of you who remember the futile efforts of our working girl's club to maintain its organization for its own interests will see what tremendous difficulty there would be in maintaining any organized action among them. Then, at last, even if the ballot would bring better conditions to the working women (which we deny), this is a small class, like that of the taxpaying woman, and must not be considered a fair representative of all women.

The fourth claim is that women need the ballot to gain equality before the law. I have had compiled a statement of the legal position of woman in Oregon, and in no case is she at a disadvantage, and in many instances she is better circumstanced than man. This is true in matters of going into business, in the holding of property, in her dower right to her deceased husband's property and in her responsibility, civilly and financially. In her rights over her children she is equal with her husband, but it is always the policy of the courts to give the preference to the mother when there is the slightest chance for so doing, so that, at least in this state, this argument does not apply.

Now, if you agree so far that there is no abstract right violated in the withholding of the suffrage from women, we come to the consideration of the question on its practical side, and here, of course, the burden of proof lies with our opponents. They must prove a distinct advantage either to the state or to woman herself, or to both, before such an overwhelming change should be made. Let us see if these advantages exist.

You must never forget that it is universal suffrage that is asked, not suffrage for the educated woman, for the intelligent woman, for woman of any special class, but for every woman of age living within the borders of the State of Oregon.

Apparently, the first result of this would be the mere doubling of the present vote, with no difference in result, and a corresponding doubling of expense and nervous energy. In this case nothing would be gained. But it is claimed that woman's vote will be purer, better than man's. Putting aside all sentimental cant, is that true? John Boyle O'Reilly said: "The evils of society are spiritual, casting a ballot is intellectual." This is largely true, and does the average woman, does even the intelligent woman, know as much of public affairs as her corresponding man? They say she would become educated. But listen to the evidence of the chairman of the Democratic committee in Wyoming, when woman suffrage had been in existence for twenty-five years: "The female vote is the easiest to get, the easiest to keep and the easiest to manipulate of any element in politics." That being true, after five and twenty years of possible education, what is to be said of the ignorant and vicious?

The Washington lobby is a notorious instance of what women will do to attain their ends, and that they will not hesitate to use means not available to the worst of politicians. And the vote of the vicious and the ignorant woman will be compelled. The intelligent woman, the one in the so-called middle and higher classes, may stay at home if she chooses, but the poorest classes, to whom a dollar means life for days, the laboring classes, with whom support of their ward boss means work, the numbers of women who must have the protection of the powers that be, to earn their fatal livelihood—all these will be constrained to vote, and their vote will be controlled by the most unscrupulous manager of the lot.

When you face these conditions, how much stronger for good is the good woman without the ballot. She may use the public press, she may unite in public if she chooses and speak with a mighty voice. She has unlimited influence in private, and the forces of evil cannot unite to counteract her. We must not forget that in the last appeal, politics is a question of numbers and it is with majorities we must deal. This is the foundation idea of a republican government. The will of the largest number replaces the absolute will of the monarch. What is the philosophy of this? That the majority can compel compliance with their wishes. Our opponents scoff at the military side of this question, but it exists. It is not in case of external war, but of internal solidity. The War of the Rebellion was only a terrible exaggeration of the necessary conditions in a republic. The nation that cannot enforce the law it makes loses its identity and chaos results. But, you may ask, have minorities no rights? Surely, those of education to the full until they become majorities with the compelling power of majorities. If it becomes true that the majority of women want the ballot, they will have

it, but the existence of a great class, creating laws, but not defending them, strikes at the very foundation of a republican government.

We have looked at some of the aspects in which this question affects the state. Let us now see how it would affect woman herself. This is one of the most difficult phases of it all, because it is one upon which women themselves disagree most widely. One woman says: "I do not want to vote, but I am willing others should." But you can't shirk it in that way. If suffrage comes it is a duty every woman must fulfill, not a privilege she may accept or reject, and the use of it will be forced upon her. No right-minded woman will be able to look calmly on the vicious and ignorant supporting political rings in notorious methods, nor upon fanatical females riding the hobbies of their own notions or their own interests, and not step forward and do her part for the good of the state. So, if you are not ready to face it for all, do not think it can be accepted for some.

Another woman says: "It is very little trouble to cast a ballot, and that is all my husband does." If that were true, there would be no reason for your being a poor citizen because your husband is, and the man who does nothing but cast a ballot, is a poor citizen. But, as a matter of fact, all men do more than that. They defend their country in time of trouble, they serve on its juries in time of peace. Problems similar to those of government come to them every day in their business life, in their professions, in the very elbow-touch with their fellows. You may say: "I will go out and have that elbow-touch." Meanwhile, what is to become of the work you do now? I am not speaking now of home life, which always must absorb the vast majority of women, but the work that is now done almost wholly by woman in all kinds of organizations, work for hospitals and homes, for churches and schools, for the education that comes from women's clubs, in literature, in music and in art. This is work with which the lives of many women are more than full. You cannot do this and all the new work too. Which will you choose, and which will you leave undone?

Then, there is all the question of the effect of this life upon the woman and the home, and here it is that science would help us if we would let it. In the earliest organisms there was the slightest possible difference of sex, but with the progress of the ages, the male and female developed each their own special organisms and characteristics, until in man we find them most highly differentiated, with the man devoted to the sustaining and protecting of the race, the woman to its continuation and its ennoblement. Two tasks equally difficult, equally elevated, but totally different, and any effort to break down this distinction, to make these life duties not equal but similar, is a long step backward, a putting of an obstacle in the way of a God-conceived and a God-developed humanity. What is offered as a substitute you may find well described in Mrs. Stetson's "Women and Economics." It results in a common ownership in property, in children and in wives, which is socialism, pure and simple. She says bluntly what most of our opponents only dare

to suggest, but Mrs. Stanton-Blatsch, in a published work said that it was better to let home suffer in order that women should gain economic freedom. "Let the women who have not the taste for domestic work turn their children over to other women's care." And in March, '88, her mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, said that if the men of organized governments refused their appeals much longer, the suffragists would turn to socialists and anarchists, with whom the equal rights of women, so-called, have always been an essential feature.

These are the lengths to which the leaders of this movement are willing to go, and any woman who favors it, favors them, and must be ready to take these consequences.

We have now briefly considered the claims of our opponents and set forth some of the disadvantages we believe the extension of the suffrage would bring to the State and to woman, and through her to the race, and if you agree with us that there is insufficient force in the first to warrant such an overwhelming change and enough to fear in the latter to make you pause before supporting it, we ask you to join us in this opposition, which we believe to be the duty of every patriotic, home-loving, God-fearing woman of the State of Oregon.

Alice Heustis Wilbur.

OF WHAT USE TO WOMAN?

THE FIRST QUESTION.

The men of Oregon are to give their answer at the polls to the question whether the women of Oregon shall be allowed to vote at all elections and to hold office on equal terms with men. Before they decide to vote "Yes," they should ask themselves whether Oregon women would be really better off with the ballot than without it. Of what use is the ballot going to be to women? That is the first question to consider. Representing, as we believe, the large majority of Oregon women who do not want the ballot, we ask the men of Oregon to give this question careful consideration. If women are to assume the duty of suffrage, they must either add it to their other duties, or lay aside other duties to take up this new duty. Would it be a good thing either for women or for the community at large to have them choose either alternative?

WHAT THE SUFFRAGISTS CLAIM.

The suffragists claim the franchise for women on the following grounds:

First, That the right to vote is a natural and inherent one, of which they are deprived.

Second, That women are taxed but not represented, contrary to the principles of free government.

Third, That society would gain by the participation of women in government, in that they would purify politics; the cause of temperance would be promoted by their vote; women's voices would abolish war; the franchise would be to woman an educational factor.

Fourth, That women are physically and intellectually as capable of the duties of the franchise as are men.

Fifth, That the fact that a majority of women do not wish the franchise is no reason for depriving a minority of an inborn right.

SUFFRAGE NOT A NATURAL RIGHT.

The first two proposals come under one head—justice; the rest under a second—expediency; and so we will consider them.

As to the justice of their claim to an inherent, natural right of which they are deprived, we answer that the right of suffrage is not inherent or inalienable.

Suffrage cannot be the right of the individual, because it does not exist for the benefit of the individual, but for the benefit of the State itself. A gift from nature must be absolute, and not contingent upon the State to prescribe qualifications, the possession of which shall be the test of right of enjoyment; and no restrictions of age or education could be put upon it, such as now exist. In prescribing limitations, the framers of the Constitution showed that they did not consider suffrage an inherent right. The article of the bill of rights which refers to inalienable rights has nothing whatever to say about suffrage.

THE BALLOT NEEDS FORCE BEHIND IT.

The suffragists claim that women are taxed without representation. Those advancing this argument exhibit their entire lack of understanding of the theories of taxation and suffrage. We have founded our government on manhood suffrage, not because our male citizens own more or less property, or any property at all, but because they are men; because behind the law must be the power of enforcing it. The insuperable objection to woman suffrage is fundamental and functional, and nature alone is responsible for it, since she has created man combatant and woman non-combatant.

The reason we have adopted as the basis of our political system that the will of the majority must prevail over that of the minority, is that we recognize the fact that the majority can, if the minority rebel, compel them to acquiescence. Therefore suffrage has been given to men, because they can back laws by force enough to compel respect and observance.

VOTING HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH TAXATION.

The possession of the ballot is in no sense dependent upon the fact that the voter pays taxes or owns property. A man who has no property has the same voice in voting as a millionaire. Property in a town, city, or state is justly liable for the current expenses of the government which protects such property. Woman's property receives exactly the same protection as man's, and she benefits as much thereby; there is therefore no injustice to her. A vote would not protect her property, since two women with no property interests could more than annul her vote by theirs. There is not a single interest of woman which is not shared by men. What is good for men—what protects their interests—also protects woman's interests.

THE QUESTION OF EXPEDIENCY.

Since women have not—for men have not—any natural right to vote, it cannot be claimed on the ground of taxation without representation, it remains to be seen whether they can demand it on the ground of expediency. Will the franchise extended to women—first, benefit the whole community? Second, gain definite benefits for women, which cannot be obtained in the existing order of things?

The remonstrants to woman's suffrage cannot find stated in all the suffragists' arguments one definite, certain benefit to result to either state or woman. On what grounds of expediency do the suffragists demand the ballot? First, that society would gain because woman would reform politics. Second, that woman would gain, since the ballot would be to them an educational factor and that through the ballot the problem of woman's wages would be solved.

WOULD WOMEN REFORM POLITICS?

Would women reform politics? Let us see! In our country where manhood suffrage exists it follows that, if suffrage belongs to woman at all, it belongs to all; suffrage must be given to all women or none, and such is the proposition of the suffragists. If the franchise were granted to women in Oregon, all women of legal age, sound mind, and not disfranchised for special causes (now applying to men) could vote; not only the intelligent and those unburdened by home and business duties, but all women without respect to race, character, or intelligence.

HOW ABOUT WYOMING AND COLORADO?

As a matter of fact, have women reformed politics in the States where they have been given the ballot? Not in Colorado, where the testimony on file at Washington in the Shafroth case disclosed women following the most iniquitous practices of men—forging registry lists, stuffing bal-

lot-boxes, organizing repeaters, and even arranging to have opposing election officers driven from the voting places. Louise Lee Hardin, writing editorially in the *Business Woman's Magazine*, of Denver, in March, 1905, put the question: "Has woman suffrage brought about a change for the better?" and answered it thus: "I leave the world to judge from the evidence brought forth in the present contest for Governor. Women have only followed where men led. It is true that they have caused the passage of some petty measures, but it was only a little sop in order to keep them in line for something greater which men had promised a big corporation that they would put through." And the *Butte* (Montana) *Miner*, of February 18, 1905, speaking of the hope that the advent of women into politics might place politics on a higher plane, said: "Unfortunately, Colorado has dispelled the illusion."

AND UTAH?

Nor have women reformed politics in Utah. Mrs. William H. Dale, of Salt Lake City, in a paper read before the Ladies' Literary Club of that city, March 31, 1905, said: "The years have come and gone, election has succeeded election, and it can hardly be truthfully said that public affairs have been bettered. Just as many incompetent men are now elected to office as was the case before the franchise was granted to women. Ward heelers and disreputable politicians wield as much power at the primaries and polls as before, and the nomination of a woman to an elective office is now considered by all the party managers as an element of weakness rather than strength."

WHAT WOULD WOMAN GAIN?

We come to the question of gain to woman personally. Is there anything to be gained which cannot be brought about with the existing franchise? The suffragists say: First, women will be educated by the ballot; second, the problem of woman's wages will be solved. In regard to the first claim we need only ask, Has the ballot proved of much educational value to men; then what are the probabilities as regards women?

AS TO WOMAN'S WAGES.

The problem of woman's wages! The ballot could not help the working girl in the way the suffragists claim, since legislation affects the business of the country only in a general way, helping or hurting all the workers alike in any special industry. The question of wages is one of supply and demand simply. So the general wages of women will always depend greatly on the amount of skill acquired by the mass of them. What especially affects woman's wages is the tem-

porary character of her work. The age of working women is from 18 to 22 years, as determined by government investigation. You see what this means—that the ranks are constantly being filled up with raw, untrained girls, while those who have attained to some degree of skill are constantly dropping out. The natural expectation of every normal girl should be that sooner or later she will marry and leave her work; therefore, there is not that incentive that men have to become highly skillful.

The problem resolves itself into this—how to regulate justly the distribution of wages between a sex which works throughout life and a sex which works with only temporary expectations, looking toward a withdrawal in a few years from the labor market, and withdrawing to take with it its acquired skill, leaving only inexperience in its stead. The wiser of the suffragists acknowledge that the suffrage will not of itself solve the problem of wages, dependent as it is on other than political considerations.

THE MAJORITY OR THE MINORITY?

There remains one argument for granting woman the suffrage, namely, that because a majority of women do not wish to vote is no sufficient reason for depriving a minority of an inborn right. This argument contains the gist of the whole question, that is, wherein the demands of the suffragists and the anti-suffragists clash. We have shown their error in claiming the franchise as an inherent right, but even were we to grant that such a right existed, it would still be perfectly within the power of the State to deprive women of this right, if by granting it the general good would be imperiled. The State holds authority to deprive citizens of the right of property, of liberty, of life itself, if the common weal demand it. The family is the safeguard of the State, and the granting of the suffrage to women tends to weaken this mainstay of the nation by bringing into it elements of discord and disunion; therefore, the State would be more than justified in denying women even an inherent right which might prove thus disastrous.

WHY THE MAJORITY OF WOMEN DO NOT WANT THE BALLOT.

We contend that a majority of women believe that their inherent rights and privileges would suffer if the duty of voting were imposed upon them, for the following reasons: because suffrage involves office-holding, which is inconsistent with the duties of most women; because they feel that their obvious duties and trusts—as sacred as any on earth—already demand their best efforts; because the duties cannot be relegated to others; because political equality will deprive woman of special privileges hitherto accorded to her by law; because they hold

that the suffrage would lessen rather than increase their influence for good.

Suffrage involves office-holding. If women vote, they ought also to hold office, and assume the working duties incident to office. A system which tends to the dissolution of the home is more perilous to the general good than any other form of danger, and office-holding is, on the face of it, incompatible with woman's proper discharge of her duties as wife and mother. Many women there are, it is true, who are not wives and mothers; and, if women vote, there will be more of them, but laws are made for the average individual and the average woman is occupied in her home with the cares of a wife, a mother, and a home maker.

The trusts of woman now are as sacred as any on earth, and man cannot relieve her of them. If, therefore, he demands of her participation in such duties, political or general, as his natural constitution fits him for, while he cannot relieve her of those most necessary duties which nature demands of her, he commits towards her a monstrous injustice. This is what imposing the suffrage on women would amount to; for if woman may vote she must vote. It is a mere sophism to say that the simple dropping of a ballot is all that is required of her. If the suffrage is extended to women, they must accept it as a duty, bringing to bear on it the conscientious spirit which they bring to bear on their present life problems.

WOMEN'S PRIVILEGES IN OREGON.

Without the ballot, and through the courtesy and chivalry of men, Oregon women have been put in a favored position under the laws.

Married women can contract precisely as if unmarried, where their separate property is concerned.

If the husband obtains possession or control of the wife's property, either before or after marriage, the wife may maintain an action therefor.

Any married woman may apply to the county circuit court for an order requiring her husband to support herself and her children.

The property of a married woman is not subject to the debts or contracts of her husband, except such as are family necessities.

A wife is entitled to hold any property acquired with the proceeds of her personal labor, and her husband has no right to compel her to turn it over to him.

All laws which imposed civil disabilities upon a wife which were not imposed upon the husband were long ago repealed.

A mother is as fully entitled as a father to the custody and control of children and their earnings.

A husband who beats his wife is liable to a penalty of twenty lashes at the discretion of the court.

WOMEN'S INFLUENCE WITHOUT THE BALLOT.

From this summary it will be seen that without the ballot, women have obtained more than mere justice in Oregon. We oppose the suffrage for women because we feel that we have more influence without it. There is not a single subject in which woman takes an intelligent interest in which she cannot exert an influence in the community proportionate to her character and ability.

The influence of woman standing apart from the ballot is immeasurable. Men look to her then (knowing that she has no selfish, political interests to further) as the embodiment of all that is truest and noblest. She has influence with all parties alike; if a voter, she would have only the influence of her own party, even the woman's vote being divided against itself. We believe that it is of vital importance that our sex should have no political ends to serve!

In whatever tends to protect and elevate woman, to secure her rights in the true sense of the word, to open up to her new paths of usefulness, all true-hearted men will join with women! In such work there is no difference of purpose.

Childhood is woman's to influence and mold, and what greater power for good could be given her? Let all true women, loyal citizens of our republic, look to the best performance of the trusts which are naturally theirs, striving for no false "equality" since there is no question of comparison between men and their duties and women and theirs. They are not "like in like," but "like in difference," each supplementing the other, rising or falling, but always together.

GOOD REASONS FOR VOTING "NO."

We submit that the foregoing considerations furnish good reasons why the men of Oregon should vote against the proposed amendment to the constitution. By so doing, they will serve the highest interests alike of women and of the community at large.

THE OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OREGON STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO THE EXTENSION OF THE SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN.

WOMEN'S INFLUENCE WITHOUT THE BALLOT

From this summary it will be seen that without the ballot women have obtained more than their share in Oregon. We oppose the suffrage for women because we feel that we have more influence without it. There is not a single subject in which woman takes an intelligent interest in which she cannot exert an influence in the community proportionate to her character and ability.

The influence of woman standing apart from the ballot is business-like. Men look to her then (knowing that she has no selfish political interests to further) as the embodiment of all that is truest and noblest. She has influence with all parties alike; if a voter, she would have only the influence of her own party, even the woman's vote being divided against itself. We believe that it is of vital importance that our sex should have no political ends to serve!

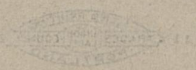
In whatever tends to protect and elevate woman, to secure her rights in the true sense of the word, to open up to her new paths of usefulness, all true-hearted men will join with women! In such work there is no difference of purpose.

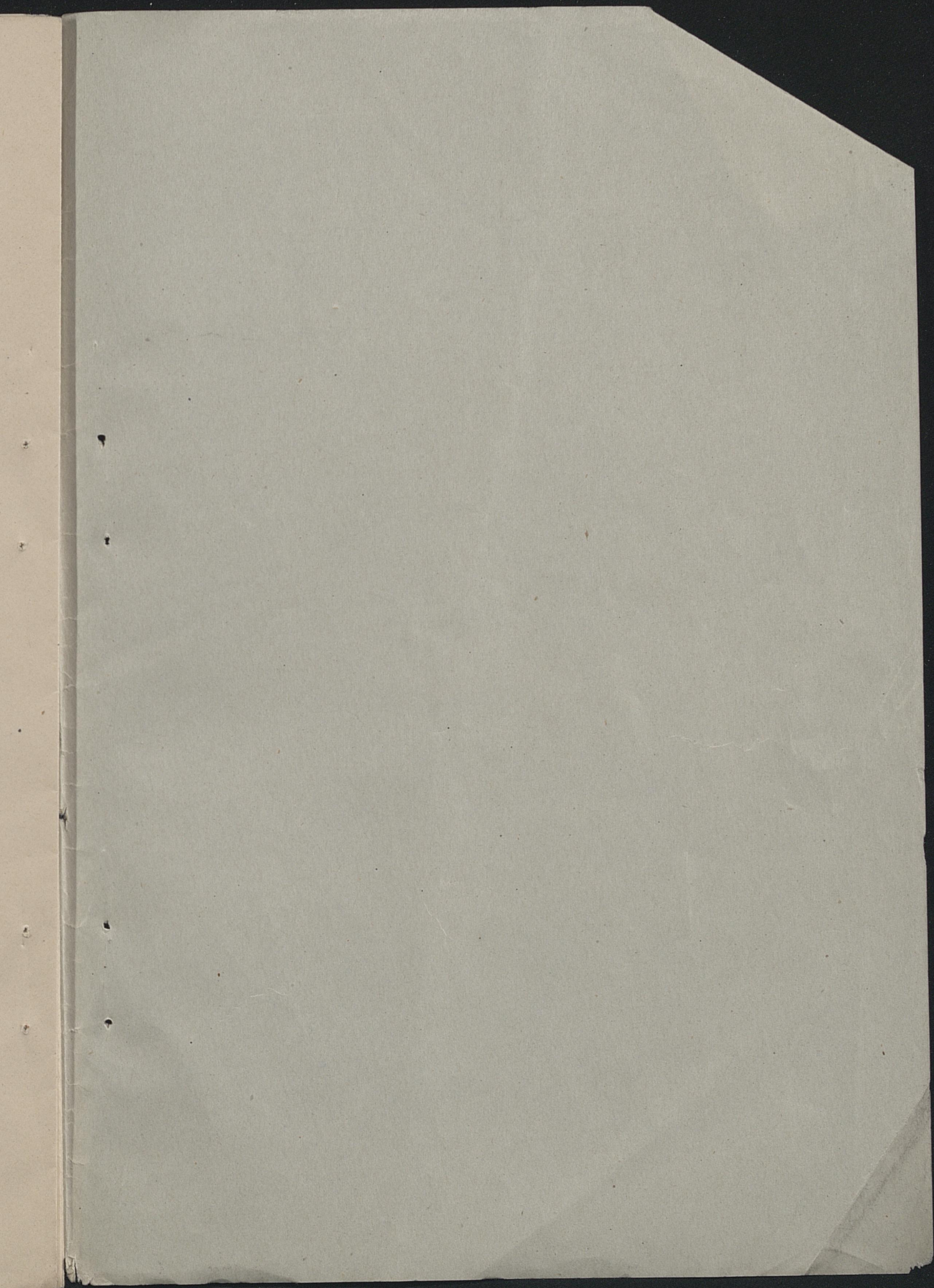
Childhood is woman's to influence and mold, and what greater power for good could be given her? Let all true women, loyal citizens of our republic, look to the best performance of the trusts which are naturally laid, striving for no false "equality" since there is no question of comparison between men and their duties and women and theirs. They are not "like in like" but "like in difference," each supplementing the other, rising or falling but always together.

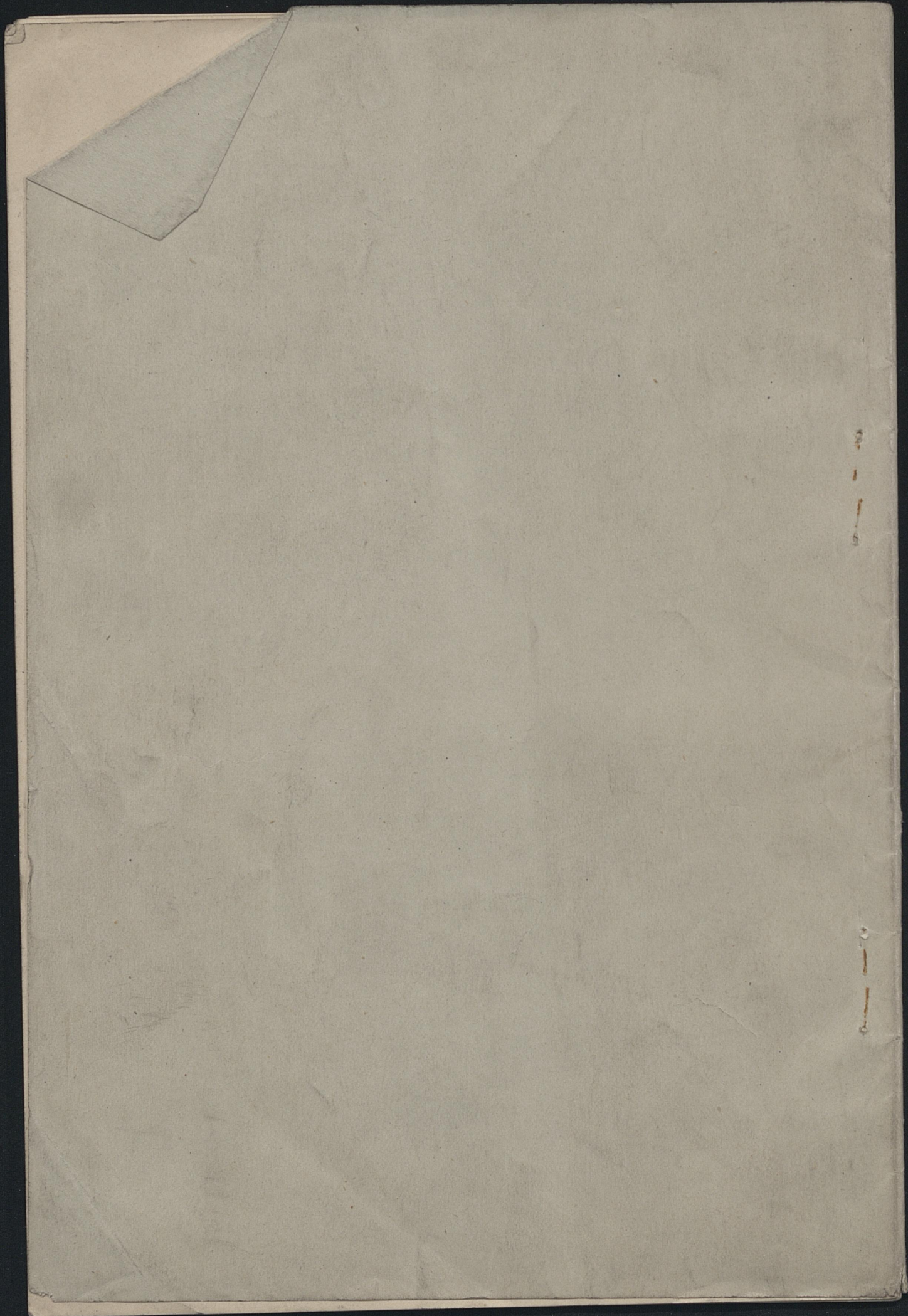
GOOD REASONS FOR VOTING "NO."

We submit that the foregoing considerations furnish good reasons why the men of Oregon should vote against the proposed amendment to the constitution. By so doing they will serve the highest interests alike of women and of the community at large.

THE OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE OREGON STATE ASSOCIATION OPPOSED TO THE EXTENSION OF THE SUFFRAGE TO WOMEN.







A HELP OR A HINDRANCE?

There is no wise woman who does not want her sex to have the best opportunities that life can give, the freest and highest education, the widest choice of occupations, the largest social activity, the truest culture, the most commanding and permanent influence that are possible in the world to-day. Young or old, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, we are all women, and we want what is best for all womanhood.

Do you want the ballot? If so, why? and if not, why not? It is a real question and an important one, a question on which every thinking woman to-day ought to have an opinion, and know what her reasons for that opinion are. It is well for you to ask yourself, seriously, do I want the ballot? and would it be a hindrance or a help to me as a working-woman?

Suppose we begin with a few facts about that great body to which any girl may be proud to belong, that army of intelligent, conscientious, capable workers who are so necessary in every field of occupation to-day. Do you know that out of the 369 groups of industries in the United States only nine have no women employed in them? There are about 2,000,000 working-women in the United States, (of these, by-the-way, more than half are in the New England and Middle States) and their number increases steadily every year. Besides these two million, more than a million and a half women are employed in domestic service, and half a million more are teachers, thus making about four million in all.

This great army of two million workers, is not detached from the ordinary life of womankind. Ninety-five per cent. of the two million live at home, and the average

length of their outside occupations is less than five years. The average woman works only from about eighteen to twenty-two years of age, after which she returns to domestic life, usually to preside over a home of her own. During these years of outside work, half of the workers give their earnings to the home life, and nearly two-thirds not only work at their regular occupations, but assist in the housework at home. Working girls seldom change from one occupation to another, and are peculiarly steady and conscientious in their work. Their wages, however, are less than those of men, except in piece-work, where they often earn more than men can. In some fields of occupation, they have already driven men out, and are rapidly displacing them in others.

“But,” you say, “what have these facts—most of which I know already—got to do with the ballot?” Suppose we take them separately and see.

What does the equal suffragist promise that the ballot will give the working-girl? A larger field of labor? well, 360 occupations already conquered, out of a possible 369, does not seem to need much improvement, does it? More permanent work? but does the woman who only works five years on an average require more permanent employment? These two promises, surely, we need not consider seriously.

The great question of wages, however, is a different thing. The suffragists make a point of assuring us that the ballot will raise wages, shorten hours and equalize conditions; and if this were true, the ballot would certainly be a good thing for the working-woman. But, is it true? is it backed up by facts? or is it just a mere catchword? The only way is to study up the facts, and see for ourselves.

It is hardly worth while, here, to set forth the laws of supply and demand, the position of woman as a new economic factor, etc. Political economy is a dry subject; so, beyond the mere statement of the acknowledged fact that the supply of women ready for work is greater than the

demand for their labor, and that woman, as a mere factor in the field of occupation will take some time yet to find her right place and her fair wage, we will not consider these points. One thing, however, may be affirmed that voting can no more influence supply and demand than it can change the phases of the moon. When there are two men to every job, wages are low, whether men vote against the lowering of wages or not; and when there is only one man to two jobs, he can ask his own price and get it. And another thing is also certain, that where untried labor comes into the field against skilled labor, skilled labor will always command the high wage, and unskilled labor sink to the lower one.

Just think about it. If you go into a factory or a store as a beginner, say, at sixteen years of age, you do not look at that work at all in the same way that a boy of sixteen would do. You only work because, at present, you have no necessary home duties, and you want the money for your support or for the support of others at home. No girl works outside her home for the pleasure of it, or deliberately expects and hopes to work thus all her life long. She expects, and she is right to expect, for the vast majority of all working-girls realize this expectation, to work only for a limited term of years, until she has a home of her own, or until the present necessity for her wage-earning is over. It would be a most unnatural and wrong state of things, and a peril to any community, for such an immense number of girls, in the flower of their youth, to renounce the thought of marriage and devote themselves absolutely to their work. For this obvious reason, no working-girl does or can, or ought to, enter any field of occupation on the same level as a working-man, because marriage does not stop a man's work but rather stimulates him to become more skilful in it, and therefore, though he also expects to marry, he is a permanent worker from the beginning.

The average age of the working-woman is only twenty-two. Few remain after twenty-five, and fewer still after

thirty. In other words the woman-worker must either choose a trade which can be learned quickly and such trades are always poorly paid, or she must drop out just as she becomes skilful, thus losing her only chance of a high wage. Don't you see that all the voting in the world cannot make a high wage for woman's work, if it is temporary and unskilled? On the other hand, when a girl remains in higher grades of work, after becoming skilled, as in piece-work, for instance, she earns a wage equal to and sometimes larger than a man's. I know, and I daresay you do, many a girl who makes larger wages than her father does in the same mill, and who is surer of her position, as long as she wants to keep it, than he is. And in trades where men are principally employed, but where there is overcrowding and the grade of work required is not especially skilled, wages and conditions are no better, and often are far worse, than in the case of women.

The best illustration of the whole thing can be found in the case of the million and a half of women engaged in domestic service. Here is a vast class of women, generally foreigners, often uneducated, entirely without organization or influence, whose wages are yet raised, year after year, without a struggle. Why? The answer is evident, there are never enough good domestic servants to supply the demand, and therefore even the unskilled emigrant gets a high wage at once. The plain fact is that the ballot has no more connection with wages than the Statue of Liberty has with the tides in New York Harbor.

But suppose, just for the sake of argument, that voting was a sort of miraculous process, and could work the impossible wonders the suffragists promise. Suppose that the ballot, in the hands of working-women, meant higher pay for skilled work, shorter hours, longer vacations, and yet more wages. Suppose all these fairy tales were true, how would the working-girl gain control of the ballot? Could she grasp the talisman, or would it remain tantalizingly outside her reach?

In the first place, the majority of working-girls could

not vote. They are too young. More than half are under twenty-one, the legal voting age at present. Even if eighteen were fixed as a voting age for women there would yet be many who could not vote. And the remainder would not be a large enough body, for the proportion of working women to women in general, as shown by the last United States census, is only one in ten—to make even the smallest impression upon politics unless they were closely organized, well officered, and all of one mind as to what should be done. It would take a tremendous amount of determined work and steady perseverance to organize such a party, and each member would have to give her leisure to it. The closest organization, the most arduous work, the largest expenditure of time and thought would be necessary to form and guide a Working-Woman's Party. It must have its primaries, its delegates, its conventions, its candidates, its district leaders and workers, and, naturally, its expenses. It would mean a great deal of hard work for both leaders and members, and it would be so small, in comparison with other political organizations, that it would never be an appreciable factor in a general election, and have women wage earners either the time, or the desire to enter into organized political conflict, even if it could bring about the imagined good results?

Even if it could bring them! Some of them if we will stop and think about it, have come already, without the ballot. Legal Aid Societies and similar organizations can easily arrange the conditions between employee and employer. The most difficult matter to legislate is between husband and wife, so that the married wage earner may find herself unhampered. In the State of Oregon, the law concerning a married woman reads as follows: "A wife is entitled to own and hold any property acquired with the proceeds of her own personal labor, and the husband has no right to compel her to turn it over to him," and "The property, either real or personal, acquired by any married woman during coverture by her own labor, shall not be liable for the debts, contracts, or liabilities of her husband." No woman can be arrested in

a civil action, or held by an execution, unless it is clearly shown that she has committed a wilful injury to person or property, or is in contempt of court. It would be hard to mention any injustice to women that the law has not tried to prevent, as far as such injustice lies within the power of law. But the trouble is that law cannot help most of life's problems. The majority of voters have wives, sisters and daughters, and are anxious as to their welfare. As far as the ballot can help woman, it is helping her now, though cast only by man in her behalf. It is because the ballot cannot help her in certain directions, and against certain economic laws, that she continues to struggle with low wages and overcrowded trades.

The voter would help his wife, his sisters, his daughters, if he could but, alas! he cannot even help himself by his vote to steadier work or a better living. Recognizing this powerlessness of the ballot, he has organized instead, the Labor Union, and the Labor Unions throughout the country, are far better and more available channels of influence than the voting-booths. In several cases they have succeeded in raising the wages of women to a level with those of men; and if a woman is to give time and energy, she had better spend it in the promotion of such organizations among women than in a fruitless struggle for political power. The working-girls' clubs are also a splendid force for good, and time is never wasted in joining and working in them. But the ballot, which has never yet raised wages for men, and never will for women, is a delusive light which is not worth while to follow. Equal suffrage has not raised the pay of women workers in Colorado, during its three years of trial there, nor in Wyoming, where it has been in force for a quarter of a century; a fact which its advocates agree to ignore, but which is convincing to any intelligent mind.

In fact, instead of being a help, the ballot, in several ways, might become a decided hindrance. Many laws have already been made, as we have seen, to protect women. Would men continue to make laws which discriminate in

favor of women, if women had the vote? It would be only natural for them to say, "You asked for the vote so that you could arrange better things for yourselves; now that you have the vote, use it, and do not trouble us to legislate for you. Your vote gives you an equal chance and we are no longer responsible." In that case, the working-girl's chance would be a poor one indeed.

And, above all, we must remember that a vote is a very poor and mechanical substitute for true womanly influence. The girl who only has the power in the world represented by one vote out of 26,000,000 is a cipher indeed; while the intelligent and womanly girl who influences all those who know her is a queen in her own right. Do you suppose a vote would have added anything to Martha Washington, or rendered Mrs. Cleveland a whit more popular? The women of America, without a vote among them, abolished slavery. The great temperance movement of to-day, which grows stronger and spreads wider every hour, is the work of women with no aid from the ballot. If we were all the right kind of women, thoughtful, wise, loving, helpful, striving to understand and do the best things, the world would move onward as fast as we could lead. The ballot is only a hindrance to such progress, for it tempts the weak and useless woman to think that it would give her power in an easy an irresponsible way.

No! true womanhood does not need the ballot to influence the world. And the working-woman is not an abstract woman, one cut off from normal, womanly life, no longer restricted by its natural limitations, or out of sympathy with its sphere of love and home. She is just a woman, who, for awhile, happens to be working outside the home, but who, later, will be a home-maker and a home-lover. Votes, politics, office-holding, primaries and ward meetings, the pulling of wires, the making of speeches, the manipulation of candidates, what useful wife and mother has room in her life for these? what active, hard-working, home-loving girl can make a place for them in her busy existence? Education? yes, let a woman strive

for the best and most of it that she can get; it will make her home brighter and her life more of an influence upon her husband and her children. Social opportunity? yes, the more of it the better. Choice of occupations? yes, while she is working, let her work be as congenial and as wide as possible. All these are good; but political activity is a barren gain, it cheapens womanhood in a vain struggle for the wrong kind of influence. As in England centuries ago the "King-maker" was far greater than the kings whom he made and unmade, so woman, with the training of voters in her hands, is greater than the voter, if she but knew it. She supplements man best by keeping in her own higher, more disinterested sphere of love, sympathy, purity and righteousness in daily life and thought, and leaving him to translate that influence into action upon the world outside, into whose work she never throws herself except from necessity, and from which she returns gladly, as soon as she can, into the higher life of the home again. "Every wise woman," said the greatest of ancient sages, "buildeth her house, but the foolish plucketh it down with her hands." It is the foolish woman, to-day, and not the wise one, who asks for the ballot, that she may pull down, with her own hands, the protection and the sanctity of her womanhood and her home.

PRISCILLA LEONARD.

**Printed in 1897 by the New York State Association
Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women,
and
Reprinted by the Oregon State Association Opposed
to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.**

A PROTEST.

We, American women, citizens of the State of Oregon, protest against the proposal to impose the obligation of suffrage upon the women of this State, for the following, among other reasons:

1. Because suffrage is to be regarded not as a privilege to be enjoyed, but as a duty to be performed.

2. Because hitherto the women of this State have enjoyed exemption from this burdensome duty, and no adequate reason has been assigned for depriving them of that immunity.

3. Because conferring suffrage upon the women who claim it would impose suffrage upon the many women who neither desire it as a privilege nor regard it their duty to seek it.

4. Because the need of America is not an increased quantity, but an improved quality, of the vote, and there is no adequate reason to believe that woman's suffrage by doubling the vote will improve its quality.

5. Because the household, not the individual, is the unit of the State, and the vast majority of women are represented by household suffrage.

6. Because the women not so represented suffer no practical injustice which giving the suffrage will remedy.

7. Because equality in character does not imply similarity in function, and the duties and life of men and women are divinely ordered to be different in the State, as in the home.

8. Because the energies of women are engrossed by their present duties and interests, from which men cannot relieve them, and it is better for the community that they devote their energies to the more efficient performance of their present work than divert them to new fields of activity.

9. Because political equality will deprive women of special privileges hitherto accorded her by the law.

10. Because suffrage logically involves the holding of public office, including jury duty, and office-holding is inconsistent with the duties of most women.

Issued by the Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.

INITIATIVE PETITION

To the Honorable F. I. Dunbar,
Secretary of State, for the State of Oregon:

We, the undersigned legal voters of the State of Oregon, respectfully demand that the following proposed amendment to the Constitution of the State of Oregon, shall be submitted to the legal electors of the State of Oregon, for their approval or rejection, at the regular general election to be held on the 4th day of June, 1906, and each for himself says: I have personally signed this petition and my residence, postoffice, and voting precinct are correctly written after my name.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT.

Section 2 of Article II of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and hereby is amended to read as follows:

Section 2. In all elections not otherwise provided for by this Constitution, every citizen of the United States, of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in the State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and every person of foreign birth of the age of twenty-one years and upwards, who shall have resided in this State during the six months immediately preceding such election, and shall have declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States one year preceding such election, conformably to the laws of the United States on the subject of naturalization, shall be entitled to vote at all elections authorized by law; it is expressly provided hereby that no one shall be denied the right to vote on account of sex. Additional qualifications of registration and precinct residence may be required by law.

	NAME	RESIDENCE If in City, Street and Number	POSTOFFICE	VOTING PRECINCT
1	R. B. Sanford	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
2	Martin Wing	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
3	L. E. Pratt	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
4	J. H. Gullmer	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
5	J. H. Eubank	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
6	J. A. Pratt	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
7	E. S. Pratt	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
8	J. H. Prout	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
9	J. Kennedy	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie

WRITE NAMES ON NUMBERED LINES ONLY.

10	J. J. S. Mignath	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
11	H. M. Dancer	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
12	Wm. Nason	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
13	L. R. Dunsen	Wamie	Wamie	was Princeton
14	A. Kistner	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
15	E. A. Chandler	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
16	H. P. Brittain	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
17	H. A. Davidson	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
18	S. Wing	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
19	F. Chandler	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie
20	H. Henry Wing	Wamie	Wamie	Wamie

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Further information and additional literature may be obtained upon application to Miss Eleanor E. Gile, 770 Flanders Street, Portland, Secretary of the Oregon State Association Opposed to the Extension of the Suffrage to Women.